2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

789 would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

General Remarks

164 To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured." [20]

•753 We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabitcimala (Kapitca imala), or Laslie Cloud.

[20] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753.

"The old people, our Maskogi ancestors, were gathered together in the olden times. The deer said that he was the cause of a sickness. So he made the medicine for its cure. The panther said that he was the cause of one. It was he, then, who made the medicine for that trouble. Then again, the bear was the cause of one. He said that he made the medicine for that. Then the snake caused one, and made its medicine. Then again, the hog said he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. The bird was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the wildcat was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the horse said that he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then the beaver said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the dog said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the otter said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the fish said it was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the game animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the water animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals of the sea-shore said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals in the sea said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then the snake tribe said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the animals-moving-about-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then the small-living-things-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the raccoon said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then the white-hog (opossum) said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the sky-hog said he was the cause of one and made medicine for it. Then again, the rainbow said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the spirits of the dead said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the different kinds of dirt said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, new-fire-when-it-is-cold said it was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the buzzard said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, living-people said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the turkey said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the wolf-in-the-water said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the land-wolf said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the rattlesnake said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the owl said he was the cause of one and made

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753 the medicine for it. Then again, what-is-inside-of-me said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it."[20a]

Mooney's Cherokee version of the "Origin of Disease and Medicine"[21] agrees with the above in tracing diseases to the animals, but according to this the animals created diseases in self-defence, and the plant creation volunteered the remedies which were to counteract them. The two stories agree, however, in tracing diseases mainly to the animals. This my Natchez informant also confirmed.

Long as is the list given by Speck's informant it by no means exhausts the alleged sources of disease and it is difficult to see how some of these could have prescribed their own cures. The myth does not perhaps represent the philosophical idea held by all doctors but it is universally true of the Creeks that animals along with many other things were supposed to occasion diseases, that there were cures for each, and that the remedies used often had some kind of resemblance, real or supposed, to the reputed causes. We will take up these causes of disease in order with the information which I have obtained regarding the method of treating each malady. The greater part of this information was obtained from Jackson Lewis, to which I have added a small amount from various other Indians and what could be gleaned from earlier writings.

756 The same evolution which had carried the Creeks to a point where they had schools of medicine, even though rudimentary in their nature, had brought about specialization both in the medicines used and in the practice of the different physicians. I have already spoken of the separate class of kĭlas or diagnosticians and the common or family doctors. Among regular practitioners, however, there was a further specialization. Each doctor did not pretend to cover the whole field of medicine. One would treat for the deer, one for the many snakes, one for the disorders contracted from graves, and so on. It was a common thing to specialize on diseases due to thunder. A doctor might tell what he knew of the disease but refer the patient to another if the method to be employed in treating it had not been given to him.

According to my Natchez informant one who had been struck by lightning and had afterwards recovered could cure diseases of all kinds.

753 The diseases were named from those animals or objects which the symptoms seemed to simulate or recall. Thus the water animals brought diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, etc., the fish and snail (lăbo), which exude slime like phlegm, caused diseases of the lungs, and so on. Sometimes the medicine contained only one thing, sometimes several. It would vary also with the class of creatures causing the trouble and the particular representative of that class.

[20a] Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso., vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 146-149.
[21] 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, pp. 230-232.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Thus the same basal medicines were used in curing diseases caused by water creatures, but diseases caused by particular water beings such as the water wolf, the rainbow, or the water tiger, would require some additions. On the other hand we find single remedies employed in curing diseases due to the eye and tongue of the deer which are combined in the remedy for the deer disease.

Creek Medicines

Deer diseases.—There was a disease produced by the common deer, one produced by "the many deer," a name used for all species and varieties of deer, and one produced by a newly born fawn or a fawn still in its mother's womb. This last is called the "soft deer" (itco lowagi). The eye of the deer will produce eye troubles and the tongue of the deer throat troubles. The prescription for the common deer disease, the symptoms of which appear to be rheumatic pains in any part of the body, was to take some deer's potato (itco imaha), pāsa, itco hitcigu (a very fragrant weed looking something like goldenrod), cedar (atcīna), and a small piece of the tender end of the summer grapevine. These were to be boiled together and the person steamed in them, more being taken internally. As in all other cases to these ingredients must be added, in order to produce any results, the formula repeated by the doctor four times and blown into the medicine through a cane tube. In treating "the many deer" and fawn diseases the same medicines were employed, only the formulæ being varied. In treating the "deer eyes" disease itco hitcigu is used alone and in treating the "deer tongue" disease miko hoyanīdja. By other informants I was told that the common deer disease was rheumatism or neuralgia or sometimes a severe headache, and when it was incurable, or at least very acute, it was considered to be the "soft deer" disease (or "limber deer" disease—itco lowagi).

According to one of these men the "deer chief" disease (itco miko) was a name given to rheumatism when it was in one place, but evidently it was rheumatism of the severe type, for Jackson Lewis said that unless well treated it swelled the joints and sometimes lamed a man for life. For it he used itco imaha and the bark scraped off of the wild crabapple (itco impākana) in some quantity, a sprig of cedar, and four roots of the pāsa. The swollen and inflamed places were steamed with this.

Tuggle has the following about this disease:

"Echo-polsa [itco pulsi]—Deer sickness.

"The medicine is made from the deer-potato or echo-mahhar [itco imahaj, mixed in water.

"Song:

Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753
[539]

Hohtikee.
Echo.
Hohchetice.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Echo.
Mikkatee.

'Translation:

Hohtikee [hâtki], white.
Echo [itco], deer.
Hachetice [from hatci], tail.
Hotikee, white.
Echo, deer.
Mikkatee [mikati], has been king." [2]

According to Jackson Lewis, there is a grub which lives in the nostrils of the deer and comes out of them in the fall as a little butterfly called kaufilgi in Hitchiti and tcoânâga (itco hanako) in Muskogee. This is a good sign of the presence of deer and is sometimes found forming in deer. By the Indians it is considered to be the cause of catarrh. This belief was confirmed by Zachariah Cook. In treating it Jackson Lewis used the itco hitcigu and the itco imaha, with which might be included the pâsa. After these have been boiled in water and allowed to cool they are inhaled through the nostrils. He declared that he had cured numerous cases by means of this medicine.

The bear disease.—The patient is taken with a violent fever, accompanied by thirst for cold water, and he has frequent evacuations of the bowels. This trouble Jackson Lewis said was not very difficult to control. According to Zachariah Cook, this disease is called ponâtâ haledji, which refers to the bear without naming him. The patient has a high fever and is out of his head; he is troubled about his mouth, pulls at the bed clothes, and gathers them in his arms as if he would pull them all together. One doctor told Cook that he could always cure this disease if he could get to the patient in time.[3]

The blood-of-the-bear disease.—The patient vomits up blood, or at least spits it up continually. The treatment is to take roots of the miko hoyanîdja, and roots of the frostweed (hitutape), mix these with water and give the decoction to the patient internally. If this does not appear to be as efficacious as desired, parings of the root of the kistuwa, the "red root" of the whites, are put into a bottle along with cold water and some of this liquid drunk from time to time.

The bison disease.—I learned that there was such a disease but no facts regarding it.

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[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] See p. 644.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753●

The rabbit disease.—The patient has pain in the lower part of the abdomen and is unable to pass water easily, what is passed being very red. The eyes are very yellow and there is sometimes paralysis in the lower parts of the body. Treatment: A bundle of stalks of a certain plant, for which I was unable to get either the native or English name, is procured, boiled in water, and administered. This plant is described as a grass or reed growing near streams to the height of 1½ or 2 feet, having leaves much resembling the leaves of the cane. The fruit is very thin and flutters from the stalk, which is jointed. Jackson Lewis was so enthusiastic about the medicinal properties of this plant that he declared it had been known to cure even those cases accompanied by paralysis of the lower limbs, and no formula was needed with it.

The raccoon disease.—This usually afflicts children; the patients are in poor health with greatly distended stomachs.

The squirrel disease.—The patient's gums are so inflamed that he can hardly eat. Treatment: A small quantity of bark of the red oak and hickory is taken from the places where the tree trunks enter the ground, boiled in water, and cooled, after which the patient rinses out his mouth with the infusion. He must also refrain from eating anything that is very soft.

753
539

The dog disease.—There are severe pains in the bowels and stomach accompanied by vomiting.[34] Treatment: Use parings of sassafras roots, adding to them a small handful of a fine grass known to the Indians as "dog's bed." These are boiled in water and a little given to the patient to drink warm. In repeating the formula for this disease the points of the compass are successively addressed but no colors are mentioned.

Tuggle has the following to say about the dog disease:

"Cramps in the stomach, or dog-sickness, is caused by a dog.

"The medicine is prepared from tobacco, cut up and put in water, making a weak tea, which the patient drinks and also uses as a wash.

"The song is sung while blowing in the water, in order to properly medicate the preparation. Each stanza is repeated four times and after each the doctor blows into the medicine. Finally both stanzas are sung four times and blowing done between.

Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Efa
Polsa
Thlohko
Elahtee
Hahlahtee
St Chay

[34] According to Hitchcock, Megillis Hadjo, a famous Tukabachee Kĭlu living in 1842, also identified the dog disease with pains in the bowels.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753
539

Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
St Chay

"Translation:

Yohholee [yulihl], be easy
Efa [ifa], dog
Polsa [pulsl], sickness
Thlahkko [lâko], large
Elathe [ilitâ], dead
Hohlahtee [hâlati, to hold, to pull?], cramping
St Chay [tcê], stop, or like *Selah*. It merely indicates the end of a sentence, or an idea.

"In the second verse—

Hohlohtee [hâlati], holding him, or, it's got him." [35]

The wolf disease.—The symptoms and treatment are the same as for the dog disease.[36] But see below.

The rat or mouse disease.—The only information I have regarding a disease caused by rats or mice is the following from the Tuggle manuscript. It will be seen that it may have been only the wolf disease under another name:

"The medicine for pains in the temple (headache) is mikko-whe-ar-ne-chah [miko hoyanîdja], or red-root.

"It is put in water and during the chant or song the medicine man blows in the water through a cane and after the song is complete, each verse being sung four times and then the entire song four times, the water is poured over the patient's head. This is repeated four days, always before eating in the morning.

"This sickness is caused by rats or mice, and the song is to drive them away. Some say Yaha, the Wolf, causes it. It is sung in a low monotonous tone—a chant. Each verse is repeated four times and after each repetition the doctor blows into the medicine.

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee chah-tee
Holochee chah-tee
Man-kaht-kan
Hah-yeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee lahnee
Holochee lahnee

[35] Ms., Dur. Amer. Ethn.
[36] Magillis Hadjo attributed "stricture in the bladder" to obsession by a mad wolf.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753
539

Mankaht kan
Hahyeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Chaysee lustee
Holochee lustee
Man kohtkan
Hohyeen
Yohfeenohhokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee hutkee
Holochee hutkee
Maukabbkan
Hahyeen
Yohfee nohhokee

"The translation of this song is as follows:

Hohnohnohhee, gallop slowly away (like a rat galloping)
Chaysee [tcisi], rat or mouse
Chahtee [tcati], red
Holochee [aholotci], cloud
Mauhobt can [? (tcaka, my head)], my head
Hohyeen [haihoyin], hot
Yoh fee noh-ho-kee [finōki, shaking?], roaring

"Literally:

Gallop away
Gallop away
Gallop away
Red rat
Red cloud
My head
Is hot
Is roaring

"The 'Red cloud' may refer to a rush of blood to the head.

"In the second verse the color of the rat is changed to 'lohnee' [lāni], yellow, and so with the cloud.

"In the third verse the rat is 'lustee' [lāsti], black, and also the cloud.

"In the fourth verse the rat is 'white' [hātki], as is also the cloud."

753

The lion disease (*Lion*—"*Person-eater*," *Isti-papa*).—According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms of this are a kind of cramp or "holding" inside of the chest. According to Zachariah Cook this disease is cholera morbus. Jackson Lewis said he had never treated it but Cook said it was cured by using the "big medicine" (hilis hākāt), which is the "butterfly plant." The song used with this refers to

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•753

the myths telling how Rabbit left the Lion on the other side of the ocean. Cook had learned of this largely through a virulent epidemic of cholera near 1870–1875.

The wildcat and panther diseases.—According to Cook powerful cramps in the stomach are attributed to a wildcat or some such powerful animal, but, beyond this and the reference by Speck, I have no information regarding a wildcat or panther disease.

The mole disease (*tăko aledji*).—The symptoms are cramps in the bowels, colic, etc. This information was from Zachariah Cook, who did not know how it was treated.

The opossum disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this was the name given to croup (nukłahe) in children. Jackson Lewis did not know the native explanation for this trouble.

The *beaver* (itchaswa), *otter* (osâna), and *muskrat* (oktcûtʻo) are supposed to bring about liver complaint, bowel troubles, gravel, etc., like some of the other water animals. Megillis Hadjo, the Tukabahchee kĭla mentioned by Hitchcock, held that "costiveness proceeds from two beavers in the bowels of the patient, who have made a dam in him; if pains are added, a bear is inside fighting with the beavers." This agrees with what I was told by William McCombs to the effect that cramps in the bowels were due to the beaver and badger, the beaver because he dams up streams as the bowels are stopped up and the badger because he is thought to have bellyâche all the time and the continual running off of the bowels is thought to be due to him. The treatment is much like that used with diseases caused by the other water animals, but I have no specific information regarding it. The prescription contains some of the same remedies as those used in diseases due to water snakes and turtles and some that are different.

The eagle disease.—The patient has cramps in the muscles of the neck or a "crick in the neck" so that the head is turned to one side and can not be moved back. Jackson Lewis said it was probably due to the fact that the patient had handled an eagle feather. According to Mr. McCombs it was believed that the eagle caused the trouble by perching on the back of the neck and must be driven off by the fumes of cedar.

The buzzard disease.—When a child vomits and purges a great deal he is afflicted by the buzzard.

The many-snakes disease.—The "many snakes" have already been mentioned as a term used to include all sorts of serpents and lizards, real and imaginary, though not frogs, toads, or alligators. They are the active causes of a great many diseases such as swellings, abscesses, etc.

The gatherers-in-the-waters disease.—This term is used for the inhabitants of the water elsewhere described. The person suffering

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

7530

from this disease has pains in the stomach or bowels, more often the latter, and retches and vomits at times. Sometimes he also has pains in the sides and back. In treating, the roots of a sycamore—the sycamore being a water tree—willow roots, a bunch of small roots from the birch, a piece of wood broken from a stick lying in shallow water in the woods and nearly rotted, are collected. With them is put some water dipped out of a small whirlpool in running water, and a little water from a hairlike line often seen on ponded water just back of a little fall. Then more water is added, the whole boiled and used warm, a little being drunk, some put on the body, and some used in steaming the body.

Regarding the "snake disease" Zachariah Cook said that the name was given to swellings, boils, carbuncles arising in several places, and inflammatory rheumatism. Certain rheumatic pains or certain kinds of paralysis were attributed to the "unseen-snakes-in-the-water disease" (ayâ haigida), or "many-animals-of-the-water disease" (wiak wilagi sûlgat). This last is evidently the "many-snakes disease." It seems that these creatures taken separately could produce diseases also. According to Cook the water tiger (wi-katca) causes congestion of the stomach, the water-king deer (wîofûts miko) something similar to rheumatism of the bowels, and the water buffalo (wî yanasa) an inward corruption of the liver something like the snake disease.

The snake disease.—By this is meant simply snake bite. The medicinal plant used by Jackson Lewis blooms about July and the flower is white. When ready to open it shows a number of teeth inside just like the teeth of a snake. The roots are said to be large and oval. One of my informants was treated by a doctor in a case of snake bite. The doctor chewed up some of this root and then sucked the wound.

The snake medicine, of which a specimen was furnished by Caley Proctor, and which may be identical with the above, was *Manfreda virginica*, called abi-tcâpko ("long stem") in Creek. It was said to be a sure cure both for snake bite and the bite of a centipede. The roots were boiled in water and the bite washed with the liquid. Another way employed by a doctor was to take some common tobacco into his mouth, suck the bite four times and as he did so hum four times the following formula: tohiudjidî tohilâkodi solonk, the words of which seem to have no meaning.

When this snake medicine was not to be had the summer grape (pâlko lâko, "big grape") might be substituted. The tendrils and soft, succulent ends of the vines were boiled thoroughly and the infusion afterward given to the patient to drink.

Some doctors attained such proficiency that they were not afraid to pick up any kind of snake. A man named Keeke, living between

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•753 Beggs and Hamilton, possessed this power and he would not allow any of his family to kill a snake. Upon one occasion Adair "saw the Chikkasah Archi-magus chew some snake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattlesnake without damage." In another place he has the following to say about native snake medicines:

"I do not remember to have seen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a snake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are often bitten by the most dangerous snakes—everyone carries in his shot-pouch, a piece of the best snake-root, such as the *Seneeka*, or fern-snake-root,—or the wild hore-hound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's cross, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to those who range the American woods, and are exposed to such dangers, and will effect a thorough and speedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, and having swallowed a sufficient quantity of it, he applies some to the wound; which he repeats as occasion requires, and in proportion to the poison the snake has infused into the wound. For a short space of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poison, and the strong antidote; but the poison is soon repelled through the same channels it entered, and the patient is cured." [27]

I do not know whether the following formula was used in cases of snake bite or a more esoteric kind of snake sickness. It is from the Tuggle collection.

[539] "After preparing this medicine [for "snake sickness"], the medicine-man sang this song:

O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, hater of snakes, come
Snakes [who] have hurt this man, come
Come, O white fox, and kill this snake.

O, spirit of the red fox, come, etc.

O, spirit of the black fox, come, etc.[28]

James Islands and N. L. Alexander, two Creek Indians, told General Hitchcock that "a case of salivation . . . was caused by two rattlesnakes in the mouth," adding that "they required five dollars for a prescription." This disease is evidently different from all of those snake diseases above mentioned, except possibly the last.

The turtle disease.—The sympton of this is a chronic cough which results in appreciably reducing the flesh of the victim. Treatment:

[27] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 235-236.

[28] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. Probably one verse, referring to a blue or yellow fox, has been lost. This formula is peculiar in beginning with the east, but it is impossible to tell whether the points of the compass are taken in sinistral order or in dextral order.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Make an infusion in water of the roots of a plant called "turtle's liver" (lutca logi). This is not found in the Creek Nation but in the country of the Cherokee (Oklahoma), and it has small circular leaves and beautiful blue flowers. If it can not be obtained, substitute for it a small piece of buckeye and a small piece of devil's shoestring. The patient must drink small quantities of this decoction from time to time warm. Warm cloths may also be put into it and then around the throat and chest. 753●.

Zachariah Cook, however, gave the name "turtle disease" (hilutca) to a hard boil forming one head. He mentioned another disease called "turtles-of-the-water" or "many turtles" (lutca sulgat), which is some sort of stomach trouble or liver complaint. It is almost identical with a disease known as "wolf-of-the-water" (wiofi yaha), and the two are treated alike, but I did not learn how.

The terrapin (lutca lobotski) disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this deforms a person by cramping his stomach or raising a lump on his shoulder. It is said that small people were affected in this way, and this suggests that it may be a name applied to the disease producing hunchbacks. In the song used in treating this disease the terrapin is called lutca hayegi, "the turtle rattles are made of."

The alligator was not accused, so far as Jackson Lewis could remember, of causing any disease, but Zachariah Cook said that it was included in the turtle disease, by which I suppose he meant that it was an animal which produced the same trouble either separately or in conjunction with the turtle.

The perch disease (sàndàlàkwà, perch).—The symptoms of this are a very acute attack of coughing which the patient can hardly stop. Treatment: Sassafras and the devil's shoestring are boiled and about a tablespoonful given at a dose.

The "periwinkle" disease.—Tuggle has the following to say about this: 753 539

'Karpochee, or Periwinkle sickness, caused by the periwinkle. The jaws swell as in mumps.

"The medicine is prepared from the gourd, Phibbee [fibī], either from the green leaves, or from the seed, when the leaves can not be obtained. In the following song which goes with this medicine each verse is repeated four times and after each time the medicine is blown into as is customary in other cases. At the end the entire song is repeated four times, and the blowings again take place.

"The song:

Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753
539

Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee

Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee

"Meaning of words:

Cheke [tcikhi], rough (up and down) [raised in
Thlahkotee [łákoti], big (large, swollen)
Chekochetee [tcutkutciti], little
Fohyohyoke [from folotki], twisted

"Literal translation:

Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big

Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little

Twisted big
Twisted big
Twisted big" [29]

Unless there is some usage of the word periwinkle other than that known to me, as applied to a small marine shell, it would seem as if Tuggle must have erred in translating the name of this disease. For a long period of time the periwinkle can have played no part in the life of the Creek Indians.

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The slug disease.—The patient has some cough but more particularly a very considerable expectoration of phlegm. Treatment: The same as for the perch disease but with a different formula.

The millepede disease.—The patient coughs and is so hoarse as almost to lose his voice. Treatment: An infusion of ginseng is to be drunk very warm.

The ant disease (*tákodja', ant*).—According to Zachariah Cook when matter runs from a boil leaving holes the trouble is attributed to the ant.

[29] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

2: Swanton - E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753

The "mastodon" disease.—It was asserted by William McCombs that there was such a disease recognized, its native name being Łaklâga, "the greatest of great [animals]." This name may perhaps have been applied to some mythic animal on the basis of mastodon or other bones found from time to time.

The hâtckutcâp disease.—This is caused by a mythical animal described elsewhere.[29a] Those who happen to see this creature have a severe fever and some have been known to die.

The hâtcko-fâski disease.—This is produced by another mythical animal described elsewhere. I have no information regarding the malady itself.[29a]

The good-snake disease.—A disease is produced by the bodyless celestial snake described in the section on religion.[29b] In treating it Jackson Lewis took roots of the sycamore, willow, and birch, sprigs of cedar, and seed pods of the red sumac which he boiled in water, using the resulting liquid to give the patient a sweat bath. A little was also given the patient to drink. The treatment was repeated on several successive days.

The rainbow disease.—As its name implies, this was supposed to be caused by the rainbow. Its symptoms are like those of the preceding and it was treated similarly.

The little people and giants have elsewhere been described, as also the effects produced by them in bewildering persons and leading them astray.[29c] The disease caused by them is known as labâtkâdilōga, "gathered on land"—i. e., not in the water—or "outside gathering on land."[29d] Treatment: Procure four little forked limbs of the post oak, one little sprig of the wild plum—a sprig of the huckleberry (tsafâknà), one of the mistletoe, one of the red haw, one of the cedar and one of a bush like the huckleberry but growing 4 feet high and bearing in June. The red haw and cedar are taken because the giants are said to feed upon their berries. To these things is added a pine cone if it can be gotten, if not a sprig of pine with the needles on; also a sprig of the winter huckleberry (owisa); a kind of high-bush huckleberry which ripens in November and during the winter, and grows on rough ground far up in the mountains; a sprig of the black haw (silāwa); a sprig of the summer grape or "big grape"; a sprig of the winter grape or "little grape"; a sprig of the muscadine (tsoloswa); four sprigs from blackberry bushes; four sprigs from dewberry vines; one sprig from the raspberry; and finally sprigs of two plants which appear to be a large and a small variety of straw-

[29a] See p. 497.
[29b] See p. 494.
[29c] See pp. 496-497.
[29d] The word is compounded of labâtki, "straight," and adilōga, "together."

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

•753 berry. Four shoots of each are taken. To all these may be added a very small quantity of horsemint. The patient is to drink some of this, sponge his body with the liquid, and use it in sweat bathing. The doctor, as usual, sings over it and blows into it with a cane, after which it is boiled and used warm. When the patient has recovered the doctor strictly enjoins him from using intoxicating drinks.

Zachariah Cook called this particular disease pneumonia, and said that hitci pàkpàgi was put into the medicine as a "foundation." When it had been compounded and conjured they sprinkled it about around the house—four times around the outside and four times around the inside alternately, i. e., once outside, then once inside, and so until they were through. This was done for four successive days by some one in the family selected for the purpose, after the doctor had come and conjured the medicine, at about sunset.

The spirit-of-war disease.—When a person is not sick in bed but keeps talking deliriously about war, battle, and things connected with them, saying "there come the enemy" and using other similar expressions until his health is injured and he is in danger of dying, it is said that he is afflicted by the spirit of war. Treatment: Cut four little forks from a post oak, take a quantity of horsemint, either dead or fresh, a sprig of pine with the leaves on, and a quantity of spicewood. Boil these in water, steam the patient with the infusion, and when it is cold bathe him in it.

Thunder disease.—The symptoms of this were severe pains in the head and arms. Sometimes the lightning shocks a person, almost kills him, and makes him delirious. Treatment: Take a piece of the "rattan vine," a sassafras root, and some gunpowder, and add water to them. The "rattan vine" grows in the bottoms and is called in Creek itō yektsá, "strong wood." It does not grow thickly anywhere. The mixture above described is not heated, but the doctor repeats formulæ over it and blows into it through a tube 5 or 6 feet long, whereas the tube commonly used is only about 3 feet long. The making of medicine for this disease is looked upon as very important and nothing about it must be done triflingly. There are doctors who are specialists in it.

The sun disease.—The patient has a sensation of heat in the crown of the head, accompanied by general aching, and toward midday falls about and becomes light headed. This trouble is caused by the sun assisted by the morning star, the moon, and a certain red star, and the disease is sometimes called aa'lâ. Treatment: Use miko hoyanĭdja, a piece of the root of the wild or domesticated sunflower, a puffball, and some angelica obtained from a drug store. Mix these up with water and pour the whole cold over the head of the patient, allowing it to run back into the dish from which it is dipped. If this is repeated often the patient will almost surely recover.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753

The fire disease.—Naturally enough fevers are often supposed to be occasioned by the fire, but there are several different kinds of fire responsible for them. According to one informant there are the new busk-ground fire (totkà mutcàsà), the hunters' fire, i. e., the fire which the hunters use while they are out (ponàtà hoboya imitotka), the fire the hunters build after they get home (totkà nàtkàbofa), and "the different kinds of fires" (also called totkà nàtkàbofa). According to Adair the old year's fire was considered "a most dangerous poilution."[30]

Diseases might also come from the paddle used in the stomp dance, and the other stomp dance accessories, as also from the unseen animals of the square ground.

Tuggle notes that according to some "all disease . . . is caused by the winds, which are born in the air and then descend to the earth."[31] By this he evidently means that the diseases are born in the air, not the winds. While it is often said that "sickness comes in the wind" it would seem that this applied rather to certain kinds of sickness caused by the winds, just as sickness was caused by the thunder, sun, etc., not that all sickness was so caused. This would perhaps account for the Chickasaw aversion to the north wind which, according to Adair, they called "very evil and accursed,"[30] though its origin in the cold quarter is sufficient explanation.

Disease was supposed to emanate from women during their monthly periods and attack men, especially in the spring of the year. This might be from contact with them or be brought by the wind blowing from them. According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms were a numbness, especially of the lower limbs, accompanied by nosebleed and headache, and a mental depression so great that the patient does not care whether he lives or dies. This agrees to some extent with Zachariah Cook's description of it as a kind of biliousness. A woman's period is called ibōski and the treatment for it ibōskilili. Both informants agreed that the medicine for it was niiko hoyanidja, which a man could drink, bathe in, and sweat-bathe in. Jackson Lewis said that the doctor sometimes took his patient away from the settlement, had him fast and then gave him the medicine and had him vomit. This treatment was sure to restore him perfectly.

Another dangerous source of disease was a dead body. This disease was called ikàn odjàlgi, which means "land owners," the dead being so called. Certain maleficent influences were believed to emanate from a dead body even after it was laid away in the ground, and persons in the vicinity were subject to aches and pains about

[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 22. [31] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753 the joints of the legs, and in other places. The ghost of the dead man was supposed to be the efficient cause of this. Even the dirt that fell upon one's clothing in digging a grave or covering up the body, or the dirt from a grave upon which one stepped, was apt to bring on this disorder. If one engaged in digging a grave he was likely to have pains in the back. Sometimes he had a chilly feeling across his back with pains running round to the front of his body and fatigue in all of the lower limbs. A person who dug a grave could also communicate the disease and this was the principal reason for the regulations to which he was subjected, and which are elsewhere described.[32] This disease would seem to have been some form of rheumatism—Tuggle calls it "pains in the knees or rheumatism"—but one informant described it as dropsy, or at all events ascribed such an origin to dropsy. Treatment: Miko hoyanĭdja and spicewood (kăpăpaska) were boiled in water, conjured in the usual manner, and divided into two parts, one hot and one cold. Then the affected parts were treated with the hot and cold medicines alternately.

753 531 According to Tuggle's informant, however, "the medicine is made from Ihee-so [wĭso]—sassafras root." He gives the following formula to accompany it:

Me-kah-kee
Thlah-kah-kete
E-leen
E-kah-nah
So-feets-kaht
Te-tah-ker

Estee
Wah-keets-kaht
Te-tah-ken
Oh-than-etaht
Te-tah-ken

Oewa
Ahk-lope-kaht
Te-tah-ken

Literally translated:

Mekahkee [mikăgi], kings
Thlahkah-kete [lăkakiti], big
Eleen [lĭin], dead
Ekahnah [ikăna], land
So feets kaht [sufĭtckat], dig it
Tetahker [titaki], ready
Este [isti], people
Wahkeets [wakēts], lay it down
Tetahkee [titaki], ready

[32] See pp. 388-396.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

753
539

Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[a]

This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice.

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Among the Creeks generally hitci pâkpâgi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hâtki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called lefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bâkco oktcâko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan:

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[a] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

114 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. An-753 throp. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the origin and naming of a new disease. He says:
177 "In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon resented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 423.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him. 753

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ōn gunáta) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hăyăp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world." 757 312

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.[a] 757

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."[b] It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*zea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."[c]

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Stillingia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 419. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.
[b] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 7, p. 370.
[c] Bartram, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., vol. III, p. 62.